

MESSAGE TO THE AFRO- AMERICAN PEOPLE



**FROM THE PEOPLES'
REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO**

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BLACK LIBERATION ARMY
Delegation
to the
PEOPLES REPUBLIC of the CONGO
May, 1971

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Sunday on the Congo River.



MPLA Camp. Banga, Angola. The Portuguese colonists in their policy of enforced assimilation have a law that states before any Black man can marry a Black woman, she must first have a baby by a Portuguese. This young woman is a victim of that law.



May Day Parade. Brazzaville. Hospital Workers.

In May, 1971, Eldridge and Kathleen Cleaver were invited to the People's Republic of the Congo. They and other members of their delegation saw a people's government in Africa that the overwhelming majority of black and other oppressed people in Amerika know nothing about. The government and the media of the U.S. have suppressed all information about the People's Republic of the Congo.

On December 31, 1969, there was a revolution in the Republic of the Congo, and it became the People's Republic. The revolution was Marxist-Leninist, dealing with the class nature of Congolese society. They (Congolese revolutionaries) knew that a correct example had to be set in Africa as far as theory and practice of the application of socialism. Other African nations such as Kenya, Tanzania, Mali, and Guinea call themselves socialist, but did not use Marxist-Leninist theory of dialectical materialism in the drive to wipe out economic, regional, and class problems. Consequently, these same nations became strongholds of neo-colonialism. For example Jomo Kenyatta, a hero to black Americans in the fifties and sixties, is now calling himself a blood brother of Spiro Agnew.

We wish to make black people in particular and Americans in general aware of the People's Republic of the Congo, and that the principles of Marxism-Leninism can be put into practice and be successful and positive in a Black African Nation.



President Marien Ngouabi and First Secretary Ndalla at podium.
May Day Rally.

MESSAGE TO AFRO AMERICANS BY ERNEST NDALLA

The struggle being waged by our Afro-American brothers is a struggle that is very important to us because it is being carried out in the very citadel of Imperialism. In the course of this century American Imperialism has become the policeman of the world. Not one day passes without some corner of the world being aggressed upon, either directly or indirectly, by the United States Imperialists. But the blows that we strike against American Imperialism in the Congo, in Vietnam, in Laos, in Cambodia, or in Chile, these blows cannot have the same impact that the blows that the Afro-American people can strike against American Imperialism on its own soil. Therefore, the Afro-Americans, who at this time constitute the essential force in the struggle against American Imperialism in the United States must understand that they have an historical task to carry out in the process of liberating the world. They must fight not only to liberate themselves, but their struggle aids humanity in destroying the world policeman; that is, the United States. Therefore, to these comrades, in struggle, the CONGOLESE WORKERS PARTY says: You have an historic

mission to accomplish. And the liberation of the world depends in large part on the determination and the combativity you show in responding to the violence of the imperialists with revolutionary violence.

When we were speaking a while ago, the comrade in charge of Organization said: "Violence is present in all societies." And what we cannot understand is how Afro-Americans, who will employ violence in the cause of American Imperialism cannot employ violence for their own liberation. We cannot understand how the Afro-American people can sit inside the United States and sing hymns when their daughters are being burned, their children killed, their churches bombed, and their people being lynched. Therefore, the message that we have is that our Afro-American comrades must understand that violence is not only reserved for the oppressor, but that the oppressed people who have been subjected to violence for thousands of years can liberate themselves from oppression only through violence. There is no other way.

I will say again, comrades, that we must fight for our dignity as men because the essential fact is not that we are black. The essential fact is that we are men. And in Africa we are struggling against colonialism to recover, to regain our manhood. And we think that your struggle is no different from ours and that you must struggle to regain your dignity as men. Color, like size, like the dimension of an individual, is the secondary quality which differentiates us; the essential quality is that we are men.

Also we say to our comrades, who are fighting in the citadel of imperialism, that our experience has shown that nationalism can progress into a reactionary phenomenon. So we have Mr. Tshombe, who was born in Africa, but his class position does not distinguish him in any way from Salazar or Franco or any other European or American reactionary. Therefore to speak of nationalism in terms of Tshombe, we can see what might result from this sort of nationalism. The nationalism of a man like Tshombe could not result in anything of any value for the masses of people. And we also know that there are Uncle Toms in the United States who are nationalists, but we know that their nationalism does not result in anything worthwhile for the vast majority of Afro-Americans. Therefore, comrades, never forget that all society is divided into classes. And that color means little. The most important thing is the class position.

It's not a matter of defining friends and enemies by word, but a matter of knowing who can support action when times are hard. We're not talking about support growing out of some emotion or other, but the point is to make the distinction between the friends and the enemies of the black people in the United States itself. We think that the masses of the people are sufficiently intelligent to distinguish their friends from their enemies and to avoid doing that which will assist the enemy and distress the revolutionaries.

Therefore, the message we are sending is a message of solidarity, of friendship, but also of combat. We know that the imperialists have forced violence upon us. We certainly would have liked to have gained our independence non-violently, but, alas, once violence was imposed there was no alternative but to take up arms and regain our freedom, because a people who will not pick up arms to fight for their liberty are worth no more than to remain as slaves. If we can recover our dignity as men, we shouldn't hesitate to pick up guns and use them against those who impose violence upon us, namely the imperialists and the reactionaries.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



AFTER BROTHER MALCOLM

by Eldridge Cleaver

Malcolm X, as far as Afro-America is concerned, is the father of revolutionary black nationalism. After he separated from the Nation of Islam and repudiated the leadership of Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm came to Africa, and he travelled all over the continent. Egypt, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, were all stops on his itinerary. The black world burst fully upon him during this sojourn. He was no longer blocked by the twisted Islamic world view of Elijah Muhammad. Also, Malcolm was in great need of reshaping his perspective in order to stand upon his own authority, his own authenticity as an independent leadership figure, because up to that time all that he said and taught was attributed to Elijah Muhammad.

Malcolm achieved the historic tasks of connecting the Afro-American struggle for national liberation with the national liberation and revolutionary struggles of Africa. He was limited, however, by the objective conditions existing in Africa at that time. The high point of action in Africa, at that time, was the sheer achievement of national independence, and the Organization of African Unity marked the apex in the consolidation of organizational forms. No qualitative estimate of the array of African regimes seemed pertinent, except to the far-sighted. No distinction was made between the revolutionaries and lackies, actual or potential, and the united front concept reigned supreme.

Malcolm was greatly inspired and influenced by the united front concept, and he strove to adapt it to the American scene. He formulated this idea in the concept of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which was to be a microcosm of the OAU-Organization of African Unity. This was to be his guiding image. The idea of an Organization of Afro-American Unity excited American militants because they could see the vanguard relationship and even the potential structural relationship between the OAU and the OAAU. And even at that very primary level of development of the African Revolution, it was very exciting and informative to begin visualizing the Afro-American struggle as being both structured, and structurally connected to the African revolution. Also, everything that Malcolm did at this stage was guided by his major idea of internationalizing the Afro-American struggle by shifting the focus from Civil Rights to Human Rights.

Afro-Americans, following the new direction of Malcolm X, became Africanized overnight. Malcolm taught us many things. He, more than any other single influence, raised our consciousness to a level where

we became even more directly prouder of Africa and our African ancestry and heritage. We became more directly connected with Africa. Malcolm emphasized our African heritage, insisting that we must become connected with Africa, even though he offered the "Back to Africa" concept. He also emphasized that we must resort to armed struggle and fight for our freedom.

When Malcolm was assassinated, a very important synthesis and unity which he symbolized and which he made possible, was gone. And the streams which he had pulled together began to diverge. Those who could not relate to Malcolm's message about the utility of the gun but who could relate very heavily to his message about African culture and Afro-American people taking on African culture and emphasizing their African roots, took advantage of his death as yielding a favorable moment to reject what he had said about the gun while raising high the banner of African culture.

When Malcolm was alive, he inflamed and inspired many people and he also frightened many people. He inspired them by calling their attention again to their Africaness. Many people could relate to that and united around it, but then when he talked about the gun the crowd thinned out and he became, once again, "the controversial Malcolm X", or "the enigmatic Malcolm X". Many people were just afraid of the whole subject of guns in the hands of blacks. This was very clear, and was the part of what Malcolm was talking about that they could not relate to.

But Malcolm was so strong that even though these people did not relate to the gun, they maintained their silence, would not reject it or condemn its use -- until after Malcolm was murdered. Malcolm's death left the door open for the public repudiation of that part of his teachings that had already privately been rejected... Now people felt free to select the part of Malcolm that they related to and rationalize the rest away.

So that it was from the death of Malcolm that two large streams began to distinguish themselves and we can see how the Cultural Nationalists split away from what Malcolm had called Revolutionary Black Nationalism. At first the split was very minute, wasn't glaring, and wasn't antagonistic. But the Cultural Nationalist tendency became more and more of a rightest tendency and the revolutionary black nationalist line moved further and further to the left; so that there was a gap created, sort of a forked formation, where the cultural nationalists went deeper and deeper off into cultural nationalism and became more and more separated from any relationship with revolutionary black nationalism, and the distinguishing characteristic was the gun. On the other hand, the revolutionary black nationalists moved further and further away from cultural nationalism and became more and more involved with the gun.

At that time, it was not easy to see the mistake involved or exactly where the contradiction lay and just what to do to resolve it.

We understood very clearly the contradiction between ourselves and the cultural nationalists. We knew what it was about the cultural nationalists that we didn't like. We could relate to African culture. We incorporated it into our beings. We had no hang-ups about that. But we even stopped wearing dashikis and emphasizing our Africaness as part of our struggle against the cultural nationalists who had turned African culture into either a fetish or a marketable commodity and, at the same time, had completely repudiated the gun. We wanted to call people's attention to the gun. So we became extremely related to the gun in a dialectical contradiction with the cultural nationalists who became extremely and totally wrapped up in African culture.

Looking back objectively, we can see that both of these directions flowing from the heritage of Malcolm X contained incorrect elements and attitudes. Both were narrow interpretations and emphases of what Malcolm was talking about.

This is why we think that returning to Africa, to the Congo, will help unite the Afro-American liberation struggle stronger than it has ever been united before. We will be able to regain the unity and momentum which we possessed when Malcolm X was alive, to regain that synthesis between the cultural aspects of our Africaness and the revolutionary aspects. Because as the revolutionary black nationalist line developed, those who were revolutionary black nationalists went through many changes and one very important thing which many of them did, particularly those who went on to build the Black Panther Party, was to become ideological, adopting the Marxist-Leninist class analysis, which even negated our nationalism.

So there was a problem of beginning to lose our identity in all this development. It did not seem as though we were getting closer and closer to Africa, but that we were getting farther and farther into ideology, deeper and deeper into Marxism-Leninism, and the other aspects of our African connectedness were definitely downgraded, as a part of our struggle with the cultural nationalists. Now we can see that we got carried away, that some of what we did was incorrect. Perhaps, that was all that we could do at that time, given the conditions and what we had to work with, but still we can see how it was negative and not the best that could have been done or that should have been done.

Returning to the Congo, and finding here in the Congo a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist state, with a Marxist-Leninist Party, and a Peoples' Army, built along the lines discovered for the formation of a true Peoples' Republic, to deal with safeguarding the construction of a Socialist Society from both the internal and external enemies. This, we see very clearly, will have a profound effect of hurling the Afro-American liberation struggle onto a higher level-making possible an unprecedentedly tighter unity. The whole divergence between the cultural nationalists and the revolutionary black nationalists, in the first place, was based directly on the question of how do we re-

late to Africa. And the divergence was possible only because Africa was not speaking for itself, or that it spoke with so many voices that much confusion resulted in selecting which voice to listen to. One could refer to Africa and make Africa say anything that one was seeking to prove. Ideologically, Africa was up for grabs.

We recall the host of State Department-CIA niggers, led by James Farmer, who were sent to Africa in Malcolm's footsteps in order to destroy the effect he was having; to dilute, if not destroy, his impact. Many Uncle Toms toured Africa, covering the continent in a bootlicking orgy of apologetics, disseminating all kinds of contradictory bullshit information that actually befuddled many Africans as to just what Afro-Americans were all about. The situation was very difficult then, because Malcolm was almost all alone. He did not have a well-formed and well-informed cadre to back him up, to help focus the attention of the people on his message. But even without such a cadre and even with all the opposition of the pig media and the bootlicking black bourgeois media, and all the confusion and misunderstanding, Malcolm was still able to have a colossal impact upon the psyches of black people in Babylon and he turned Afro-America around.

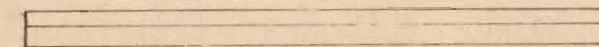
But today, we have a situation where we have party cadre and many other black people who have already gone through the process of regaining their consciousness of their African heritage. At the same time, the revolutionary arm of Afro-America also relates to our African roots, and is only separated from the paraphernalia of African culture because of internal conflicts in the Afro-American liberation struggle between the cultural freaks and those who relate primarily to the gun. The cultural nationalists refused to understand that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun", and this is precisely why it was necessary to wage such hard and uncompromising struggle against them.

But now a loud voice has risen from the heart of Africa, from the Congo, speaking about a revolutionary Marxist - Leninist state. Not just speaking about it, but having actually achieved the consolidation, establishment, and promulgation of the Peoples' Republic of the Congo, under the leadership of President Marien Ngouabi. The historical fact of the existence of a Marxist-Leninist nation in Africa destroys all arguments supporting the perpetuation of the contradiction between the revolutionary black nationalists and the cultural nationalists, which for several years has bottled up and stifled an unestimated amount of revolutionary energy. This energy must again burst forth, on a higher level of consciousness; with cadres already committed to ideology, but firmly rooted in our African heritage and identity. We now have an African model, the Peoples' Republic of the Congo. All arguments over the synthesis of our history, our culture, and Marxism-Leninism can be dealt with objectively, because we now have an example of where this has already been done successfully.

It is very beautiful that this has been done in the Congo, in the heart of Africa. Of all words, phrases, and statements connected

with Africa, even more than the word "Africa" itself, the word CONGO sets off some very deep vibrations in black hearts, in black souls, in black minds.

I think that encountering the Peoples' Republic of the Congo will enable us once again to call upon our source of strength, our history, and all our cultural aspects -- but this time focused into a revolutionary context, for there will be no distinction between our revolutionary necessities and our cultural heritage. I think that's right on. I think that's fantastic, and I think it's true.



CONGO (BRAZZAVILLE)

A POLITICAL HISTORY

by Michael Cetewayo Tabor

In the year 1482, Portuguese adventurers landed at the mouth of the Congo River. Once there, they came into contact with two highly developed Bantu Empires. In the north, they found the kingdom of Loango, which makes up what is the present day Peoples' Republic of the Congo, and in the south there was the fabulous Mani-Congo kingdom that extended down into what is now Angola.

After that initial contact, the Portuguese proceeded to organize raiding parties to attack the villages and kidnap its healthiest inhabitants who were then forcibly taken aboard the Portuguese slave ships and sold in the slave markets of the West Indies. The Portuguese slave traders were followed by the Spanish, then the Dutch, and the English. The result of their barbarous and inhuman activities was the total decimation of hundreds of African villages in that region, the disruption of cultural patterns, and the slaughter of countless human beings. Many Africans stolen from this area were to eventually end up in what is now the U.S.A.



The termination of the West African slave trade in the 19th century, however, did not mean that the people of the Congo were freed from exploitation and oppression. For as a result of the infamous Berlin Conference (1885-1886) the French gained control of the region ... and established a colonial administration, which was based upon the unbridled plunder of that region's natural and human resources.

By 1960, the relentless agitation for independence and the numerous wars fought to attain that cherished ideal in the colonies and the domestic crisis that was threatening to topple the ruling classes in the various colonial and imperialist countries, particularly in France, forced that nation to extend independence to a number of its African colonies. Among these was the Congo (Brazzaville).

The French "Tri-Color" was taken down and the new flag of the Congo was hoisted in its place. The National Anthem was no longer the "La Marseillaise" for the new Republic had its own. The French colonial administrators were recalled to Paris and the members of the Congo National bourgeoisie assumed their vacated seats...but aside from these external changes business went on as usual...Why?... The answer is to be found in the law of social and historical development that dictates that "whosoever controls the economics of a nation, in the final analysis controls its politics".

...The French had no intention of granting total independence to the colonies... but they realized that the illusion of such had to be created...and that is precisely what they did...Handpicked and carefully chosen representatives of the Congolese national bourgeoisie were placed in the positions of governmental administration, but the French still ran the economics of the nation. Moreover, the national bourgeoisie of the Congo possessed interests that were the same as those of the bourgeoisie in France... all of which were diametrically opposed to the true needs and desires of the Congolese masses.

The first president was a "priest" named Fulbert Youlou, whose regime was notorious for its corruption and eagerness to accommodate and assist the French in their voracious pillage of the people and the land.

In 1963, revolutionary trade unionists and other progressive groups led the people in a three day strike that brought about the collapse of the Youlou regime... now in a desperate attempt to defuse the revolutionary fervor of the people, and block the true revolutionaries from coming to power and prevent the nation from becoming socialist, Alphonse Massamba Debat ripped off the presidential seat.

Debat, by no means a socialist, was, however, pressured by the revolutionaries into making certain concessions. He mistakenly believed that he could buy off the revolutionaries and avoid an open confrontation with them by doing this. The revolutionaries, led by Claude Ndalila, were not about to be deluded, for they realized that

only a government of principles based on scientific socialism could produce the type of society that their people needed in order to prosper and they were determined to make this goal into a reality.

These Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries went in the streets of Brazzaville and organized the youth into a powerful and dedicated revolutionary force. They conducted intensive political education amongst the masses of the people and also in the military.

Meanwhile, the true nature of Debat was becoming more and more clear as he became increasingly reactionary in foreign policy and repressive towards his political opponents at home.

In 1968, Debat decided to launch an all-out attack upon his political opposition and established a dictatorship...He solidified his ties with the French neo-colonialistic imperialists, arrested (whole-sale) members of the opposition, dissolved the national assembly and the politburo, and imprisoned paratrooper captain, Marien Ngouabi, a revolutionary. He then declared himself in total control of the government...It was at that point all hell broke loose.

...The revolutionary youth organization and the military moved in unison, along with the masses against the reactionary regime of Debat... After several convulsive months the Debat government collapsed.

Paratrooper Captain Marien Ngouabi was made president of the national council of the revolution. The political prisoners were released...And then on December 31, 1969, the Congo declared a Peoples' Republic (a Socialist state based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism).

The capitalist press tried to play this historic event down, giving it as little coverage as possible, and along with that, they immediately set into motion their plans to overthrow the new government. The mere thought of a true socialist state in Black Africa was too much for the capitalists to bear.

In April of 1970, soldiers from the reactionary and neo-colonized nation of Congo (Kinshasha), headed by arch bootlicker Mobutu, invaded Congo (Brazzaville), seized the radio station and issued a call to the Congolese people to overthrow their government. Instead of complying with the wishes of these reactionary invaders, the Congolese people rallied around the revolutionary forces of the government and helped them to wipe out the invaders.

Since the inception of the Marxist-Leninist, socialist government, widespread nationalization - that is, the reclaiming of property that originally belonged to the Congolese people and was stolen from them by the French- has been carried out. Guerrilla and training camps for a number of revolutionary organizations that are fighting

to liberate their countries from the oppressive grip of colonialism and neo-colonialism, have been set up. Extensive political education has, and is, being conducted amongst the masses of people. There has been established a Revolutionary Women's Union, among many other positive moves.

The people of the Congo(Brazzaville) are fully aware of the fact that their nation will never be totally free until the last colonialist, neo-colonialist, and imperialist is driven from the continent of Africa and the face of the planet Earth. They also know that they are under constant threat of invasion from the imperialists and/or their lackeys, and they are prepared to deal with that eventuality, for the people are armed.

THE NUMBER ONE PROBLEM IN AFRICA: NEO-COLONIALISM

by Eldridge Cleaver

The major problem in Africa today is not the problem of Colonialism in the old sense of the word , but the new form of neo-colonialism by which the same old slavemasters seek to continue their same old game of exploitation and oppression but using new methods. Instead of occupying African territory outright and openly in the manner of invaders, occupying conquered territory, the game of neo-colonialism uses black puppets , such as Mobutu, in the Congo, Senghor in Senegal and Boingy in the Ivory Coast.

What the bloodsucking imperialists have wanted all along is a free hand in exploiting the riches of the oppressed peoples' lands . Finding it impossible and too costly, both politically and militarily to continue maintaining direct control of Africa , the imperialists came to rely more upon their puppets, and they found that these dedicated lackies are able to get the job done for them . They are still able to drain off the fabulous riches of Africa and thereby continue to enjoy a life of luxury and splendor in the mother country at the expense of Africa .

There is no country in Africa that has an independent economy . Those that are not in the clutches of Western imperialists are dependent either upon the Soviet Union or China. The monopoly which these developed countries have on technology is the key means through which they are able to control the economies of African countries. Also, by blocking their products on the world market, the imperialists are able to force Third World countries to their knees , thus forcing them to

capitulate to their economic demands .

By far , the Socialist countries offer the most favorable terms and conditions for the aid that they give to Third World countries , but when it comes to Africa , we again find that the black man is at the bottom of the list , receiving far less than the amount of aid that they need in order to develop independent economies .

This is why what now is happening in the Peoples' Republic of the Congo is so important . The Congo has struck out on the road to true independence . By choosing socialism as the form of society and Marxism - Leninism for it's ideology , the Peoples' Republic of the Congo has challenged the imperialists to a showdown . The government of President Marien Ngouabi has declared war upon neo - colonialism . Backed up by a strong, closely united party , the Congolese Workers' Party , a powerful peoples' militia , the Congo is on firm and solid ground . It would take a major military invasion from outside , using scorched earth policy, to overturn what the courageous Congolese revolutionaries have achieved .

Putting their theory into practice, the Congolese Marxist-Leninists have started nationalizing all of the foreign-owned enterprises in their country . This has brought on a crisis between the Peoples' Republic of the Congo and all imperialist countries . But the Congo has reached the point of no-return . There is no turning back for the Congo . This is why Afro-Americans , in their own struggle for liberation, can look upon the Congo as a true, reliable ally in the struggle, for the number one enemy facing the Peoples' Republic of the Congo is the United States of America .

The United States is the chief enemy of freedom and liberation in Africa , just as in all parts of the world . The United States is the main exploiter in Africa , even though most of this exploitation is done indirectly, through the control which the U. S. has over all the other Western imperialist countries . On this world scale, France, England, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Portugal are all puppets of U.S. imperialism . Through it's rich supply of finance capital, and through it's controlling investment interests in the economies of other Western countries, the U.S. imperialists are actually at the head of an international imperialist empire . That is why we can say that Portugal, for instance, is a puppet colonial power, totally dependent upon U.S. arms and money, funnelled to it through NATO . Without this backing from the U . S . , Portugal would have to apply to the United Nations or the Red Cross for Welfare Relief.



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AFRO - AMERICA and the CONGO

by Eldridge Cleaver

The establishment of reactionary, bourgeois regimes throughout Black Africa, on the one hand, and the continued domination of large sections of the continent by white racist regimes, such as in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, on the other hand, stopped the forward march of the black man in Africa, and also exerted a breaking effect on the liberation struggles of black people throughout the world.

Beginning with the brutal, heartbreaking political murder of Patrice Lumumba, accompanied by the rise of Tshombe and Mobutu in the Congo, the overthrow of Nkrumah in Ghana, and the bewildering succession of reactionary coups d'etat in Africa, the magnetic attraction which the independent African States exercised upon Afro-Americans faded away. Not even Jomo Kenyatta, the Burning Spear wrongly associated with the inspiring Mau Mau of Kenya, any longer had magic in his image, as far as Afro-Americans were concerned.

We have paid dearly - in the lives, riches, and precious lost time - for this situation. But the tide of history has again turned on Africa. December 31, 1969, the founding date of the Peoples' Republic of the Congo, marks the turning point. Once again freedom has a toe-hold in black Africa. The lying propaganda of the imperialists and the colonialists kept the existence of the Peoples' Republic of the Congo a secret. What has really been going on in the Congo has been hidden from us.

What the Soviet Union meant to Europe, what China meant to Asia, and what Cuba meant to Latin America, the Peoples' Republic of the Congo means to Africa and to black people everywhere. For many years now, the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba have provided centers of peoples' power under the red banner of socialism and Marxism-Leninism in Europe, Asia, And Latin America. Now for the first time in history, Africa and the Black World have such a center of peoples' power. And this center of peoples' power is destined to exercise the same kind of influence upon Africa and the black people as the other centers did in their parts of the world and upon their peoples.

Our revolutionary brothers and sisters in the Peoples Republic of the Congo have stretched out their hands to Afro-America. We must reciprocate. We must firmly lock hands with the Congo, because the

hour is late and the danger is real. Across the Congo River, in Congo (Kinshasha), the United States of America is trying by every means to overthrow the young Socialist regime in the Peoples' Republic of the Congo. Congo (Kinshasha), under the bootlicking control of Mobutu, the worthy successor to Tshombe, is the main base for the operations of the CIA against the best interests in Black Africa. There are thousands of American troops stationed in Congo (Kinshasha) at this very moment, and many of them are specially recruited black soldiers, mercenaries, who learned their murderous art in Vietnam. Not a day goes by that hostile acts, originating in Mobutu's Congo, are not carried out against the Peoples' Republic of the Congo. And the American military bases there are like death poised and aimed, ready to strike a fatal blow at a moment's notice.

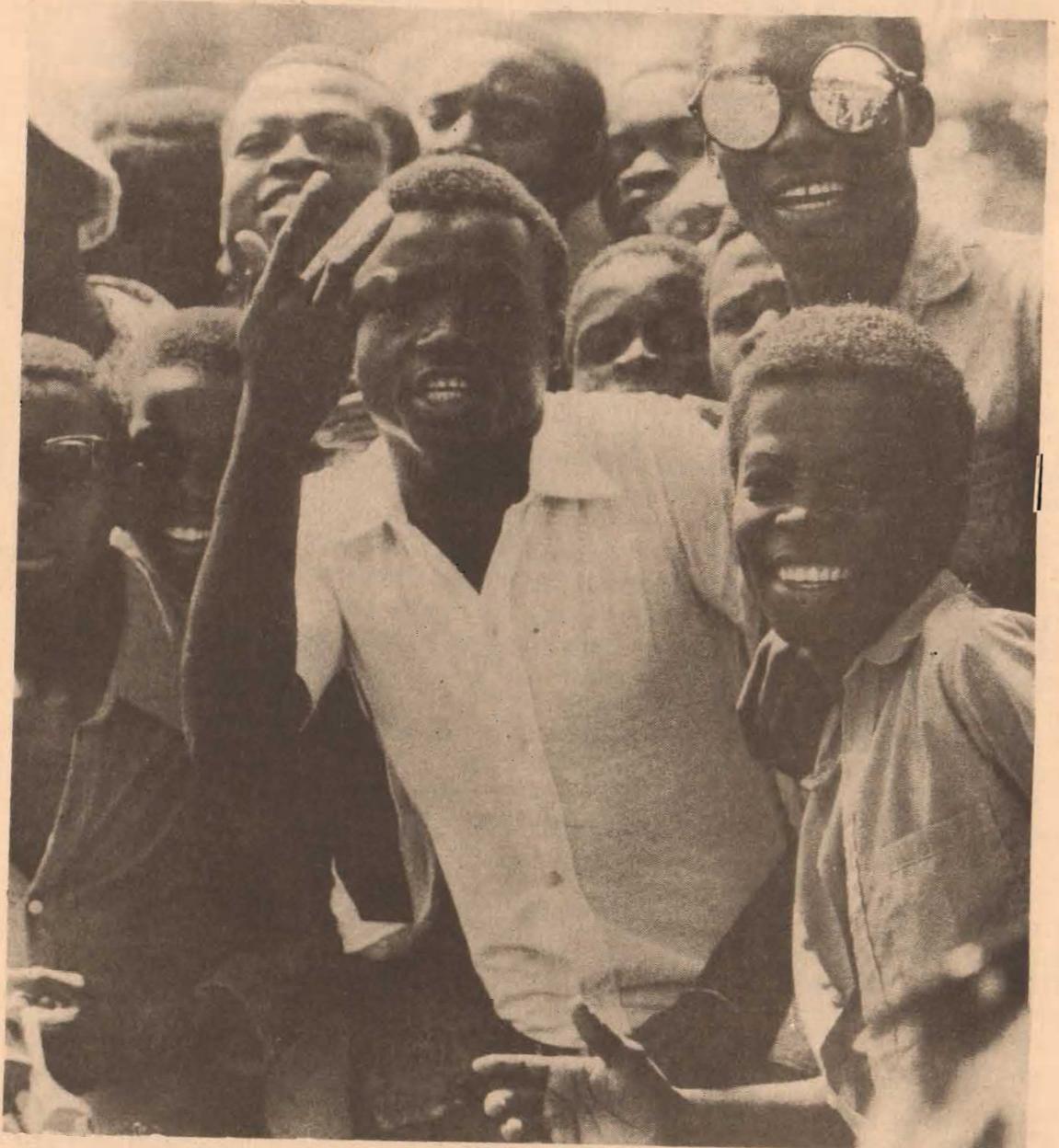
In addition, the arch Racist - Fascist - Imperialist of the 20th Century, Richard Nixon, has pledged the support of the U.S. government to maintain the white racists in power in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and he is bankrolling and arming Portugal in its vicious war to stamp out the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea Bissau. Through the machinery of NATO, gigantic supplies of modern weapons are poured into Africa, into the hands of the racists and the puppets, to be used against the forces of freedom.

It is the intent of the Nixon clique, in league with the other imperialist and colonial governments of the West, to keep Africa and the black people locked in the clutches of neo-colonialism. They intend to accomplish that evil scheme by any means necessary. They have already been hard at work at just this for many years. The meaning of this evil scheme must be crystal clear to Afro-Americans, because whatever the fate of Africa, Afro-Americans will share it. There are no two ways about that. It has always been true.

So we must proclaim our solidarity with the African revolutionaries, particularly joining hands with our Congolese brothers and sisters. We must not sit idly by and watch the white racist imperialist American government, hand in hand with the French, the British, the Belgians, the South Africans, the Portuguese, and the Israelis, shackle Africa and the black man in chains once again. HANDS OFF THE CONGO must become our battle cry, and we must put it into practice. We must move to help the Congo smash the plots hatched against it by the imperialists in their move to lock the Congo down again by using neo-colonialist techniques. In so doing, we will at the same time be striking a blow for our own freedom, because, the enemy is one and the same.

We must DEMAND that the United States withdraw all of its troops from Congo (Kinshasha), and cease all military aid to the reactionary Mobutu regime.

We must DEMAND that the United States and all other imperialist countries stop their hostile economic acts against the Peoples' Republic of the Congo!



Harlem? Brazzaville. These brothers are free in the People's Republic of the Congo.

REVOLUTION IN THE CONGO

INTERVIEW WITH ERNEST NDALLA

First Secretary of Congolese Workers Party

First Secretary Ndalla;

We will try in a few words to cover the subject of the development of the revolution in the Peoples' Republic of the Congo. To do this, we have two comrades from the Political Bureau. Myself, I am in charge of propaganda, and my comrade, of organization, because propaganda and organization always go together to mobilize, organize, and educate the masses in order to lead them to carry out the tasks of the revolution and accomplish their historical mission.

The first thing we are going to say is that the struggle for independence in the Peoples' Republic of the Congo, in Africa in general, and also the experiences of other countries and our own analysis have brought us to one conclusion: that only socialism can guarantee independence. Because imperialism is the development of capitalism outside its own boundaries, and capitalism developed into imperialism cannot tolerate the development of national capitalism in any African country if that national capitalism is not linked to and dominated by Imperialism. And this idea with which we affirm that only socialism can guarantee independence is important to clearly grasp in order to refute all the theories such as negritude, other theories of African authenticity which have the unfortunate result of isolating the laboring masses of Africa from the laboring masses of the entire world and the international proletariat. I think that in terms of the cultural problem which I have raised, Comrade Nze will develop that to a greater extent later, and we can now continue with our introduction covering the problems that we have to study. So I would like to state again that socialism is the only guarantee for independence. That's the first point.

The second point is that the experience of the struggle in our country has showed us that without revolutionary theory a revolutionary movement cannot exist. We became aware of this during the period of 1963 - 1968, the period when the National Revolutionary movement was a compromise born out of the fact that the masses were entering into the political arena in August 1963, since it was the masses who said "NO!" to the neo-colonial regime of Abbé Fulbert Youlou who was President of Congo-Brazzaville until 1963. Therefore on the one hand you had the masses who were just entering into the political arena and on the other hand you had the petit bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie who were aspiring to occupy the arm chairs left vacant by the colonialist and the foreign capitalists. Therefore the National

Revolutionary Movement, as a result of a compromise between the popular forces and the bourgeoisie did not develop a clear ideological line. It was politically vacillating. Whenever the revolutionary forces were dominant, its politics were progressive, but when the reactionary forces dominated the heart of the National Revolutionary Movement, its politics became reactionary. Therefore, the National Revolutionary Movement could not elaborate a coherent revolutionary theory for the masses of the people. By its inability to advance a coherent revolutionary line the National Revolutionary Movement could not use all the energies of the popular masses that were released by this movement.

And the third point is that revolutionary theory, once it is already elaborated, must be enriched by practice and must be verified by practice. In order to practice a revolutionary theory, there must be a stable revolutionary organization that can engage in permanent revolutionary work. This stable organization is the party of the proletariat. And in order to get a revolutionary movement in the Congo and in Africa -- because the African is not hostile to socialism. Therefore the third point has brought us to the creation of the proletarian party, the Congolese Workers Party.

With this third point we have linked the concrete analysis of our own situation and the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism. We thought that their analysis was correct and that we could also work in accord with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, but that did not prevent certain people from saying that the creation of the Congolese Workers Party and the declaration of the Peoples' Republic of the Congo was adventurist. They say it's adventurist because the Congo only has a million inhabitants. But we know that Albania, which has chosen the path of building socialism, also has a million inhabitants. Others think it was adventurist to proclaim the Peoples' Republic because that would designate us as a target of imperialism. To that we replied that the imperialists did not wait until we declared the Peoples' Republic to aggress upon us. Once you undertake the struggle to obtain real independence you have become the enemy of imperialism and you become men to be destroyed. Others think that the proclamation of the Peoples Republic and the birth of the party were adventurist because, they say, our working class is not numerically strong. But we think that the quality counts. And it was on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of August 1963, that our working class, despite its number, rose up and succeeded to mobilize around itself the entire national forces and to overthrow the neo-colonial regime of Fulbert Youlou. We think that our working class has sufficiently proved its determination by opting for a real independence. For us the most important thing is to succeed in mobilizing all the masses that are susceptible to being united in the struggle for real independence around the ideas of the working class.

The youth can be mobilized around the base of the ideology of the working class because in our country the youth are victims not

only of capitalist exploitation but of feudal exploitation and the bias of tradition and custom and also by the still feudal structure of the family.

We can mobilize women because women want to be emancipated from feudal oppression and subjection and they also want to regain their human dignity. Therefore the interests of the women coincide with the ideas of the working class and women can also be mobilized on the base of the working class ideology.

Another point that we want to underline which I believe is the fourth point is the class struggle. Unfortunately people here for a long time have denied the existence of classes in the Congo and in Africa. We had to struggle up until 1966 to make people effectively recognize that there were classes in the Congo and that the class struggle was taking place.

Just a while ago we spoke of Negritude. But here again in terms of the class problem we must also talk about Negritude and Mr. Senghor because many people think that African society before colonization was a society without class and that today Africans only have to return to pre-colonial society in order to become socialists since, according to them, African society before colonization was a society without class. But we know that pre-colonial African society was a class society. And we will never forget that there were African classes that found it in their interests to participate in the slave trade. For them it was an opportunity to get more wealth without losing anything. Therefore, I say that the class struggle -the fact of the recognition of class and of the class struggle that we founded our program on to transmit power to the masses -is what we call "Peoples' Power.

Therefore, the fifth point of our discussion will be "Peoples' Power", the living principle of which is the class struggle. To speak of Peoples' Power is to speak of leading the masses to take part in politics, of showing the masses that all acts they undertake are political acts and that consequently the masses should not be afraid to engage in politics. When you tell the masses to take part in politics it is also to be understood that their enemies are listening and the enemy will also take part in politics. So the masses must be very vigilant and never forget the class struggle, and never allow the enemies of the people and others not in their interest to take over the organizations they have created.

When we talk about Peoples' Power, we are not only talking about politics but we are talking about all domains of life. So we also see our Peoples' Power in the economy - this will be our sixth point, the economy.

We must promote massive and continuous development of the productive forces. We must do everything in our power to develop the productive forces, but we must make sure that this development of the

productive forces does not benefit the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and that everything that we develop must go for the benefit of the masses of the people. Another aspect that we must also be aware of is developing an economy in which the working masses must take an increasingly active role in creating and directing the economic enterprises.

When we speak of Peoples' Power, we are also speaking of defense, because as Chairman Mao Tse Tung says: "Without a Peoples' Army, the people have nothing." And this is our seventh point. That is that the people must ensure their own security. Therefore, besides the regular forces we must also have a very strong militia where the youth, the workers, and the women must be in a position to defend what the Revolution has brought them. Because the more the Revolution advances, the more the anger of the imperialists is going to increase and, the harder the blows become that we can strike against imperialism. In order to be able to deal with the blows of imperialism and retaliate tit-for-tat, it is necessary for all Congolese revolutionaries to possess military knowledge. To have military knowledge is very important for our revolution. We say that we learn warfare through warfare.

When we speak of Peoples' Power, we also speak of Peoples' Power in culture. At this point, the European and American imperialists want to rediscover the African culture, but they want to rediscover the African culture that does not disturb them, that does not infringe upon them. The African culture that the imperialists adore is the African culture that shows the black man as a good dancer, a good fisherman, a good athlete; but also very emotional, who has nothing in his Head. We say that in the 20th century we cannot produce the culture our ancestors produced two hundred years ago, because that would be the same as asking the Europeans to produce the same culture of the Middle Ages. In any case, I think that you, comrades, are well placed to know about the cultural problem, because, in the United States, white people, at first, rejected jazz as black peoples' music but when jazz became famous all over the world, they strove to remake it, to bleach it out, change it and make jazz a music of the United States, a white peoples' music. Therefore, when we are speaking of Peoples' Power, we are also speaking of Peoples' Power in the cultural domain. That is one of the reasons that makes us a target of the imperialists and their lackies, and all the Uncle Toms, whether they be in the United States or in Africa. It was in the research on the development of Peoples' Power in the cultural realm that we organized a symposium on teaching at the end of last year. During the course of the symposium we defined the general outline of the new democratic, and popular revolution; a school which must make new Congolese, patriotic and socialist. And also a productive Congolese. This is very important.

Here are, to some extent, the points that we thought it would be necessary to outline in order to help you come to a better understanding of the action of the Congolese Workers' Party and the action

of the revolutionary movement in the Congo.

Now our Comrade Nze will develop in more depth two aspects of the points that we have raised; the cultural aspect and the aspect of Peoples' Power. If we insist upon the cultural aspect, that's because we think that the revolution is, above all, a cultural phenomenon.

Interview With

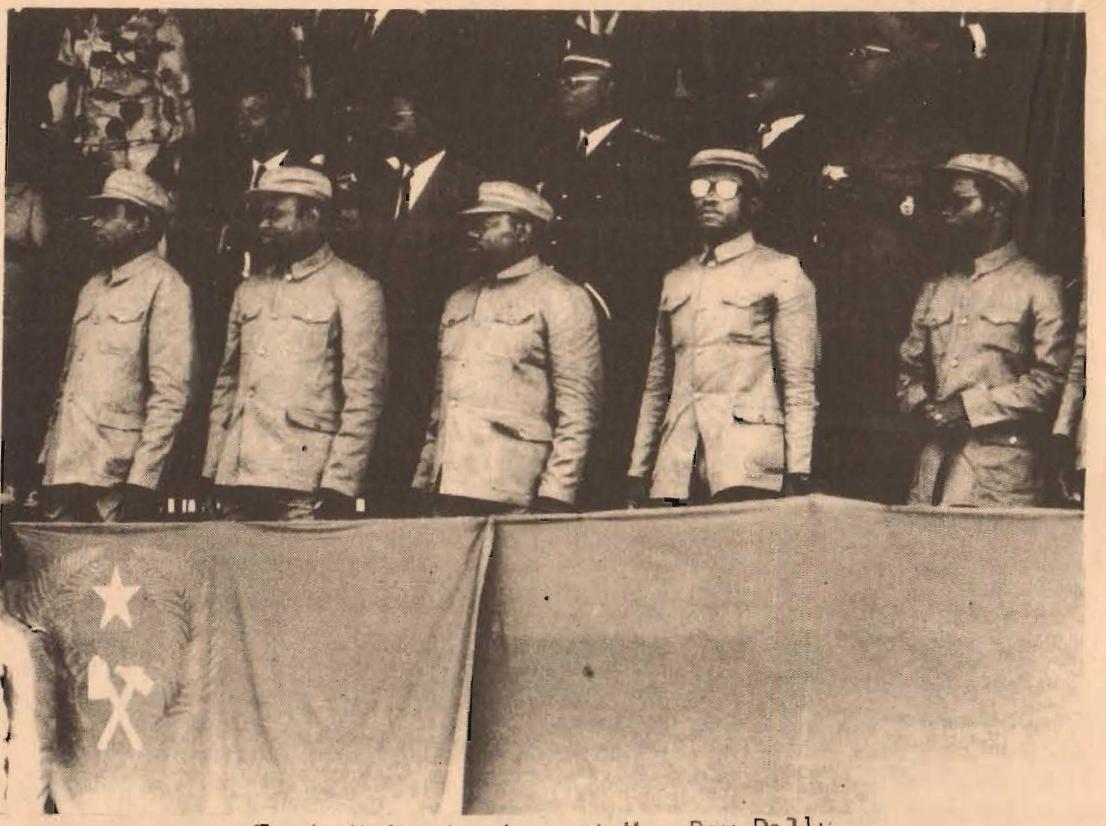
PIERRE NZE MEMBER OF POLITBURO CHARGE OF ORGANIZATION

I think that after this excellent explanation by our Comrade First Secretary, especially in terms of the problems which are the principal preoccupations of the Congolese Workers' Party, I have only a few points of detail to add.

We realize that we must build a new society in Africa at this time. It must not be built on a purely idealistic base, but it must be based on scientific considerations in order to build something new. We consider that in the undertaking of the domination of Africa, that the Occidentals wanted to compel us to have an idealistic way of thinking, because, then what we learn is further and further removed from an improved concept of the world. As Africans, it is in our interest to have a valid concept of the world; materialist and scientific. Primarily, as far as the position of the black man is concerned in relation to science, in relation to his concept of the world, we consider that the black man must not put aside that which is scientific.

The history of the world, the history of humanity, shows that the development of society has always been based on violence. Violence of masters against slaves, violence of feudal lords against serfs, violence of capitalists against workers. This violence has been exercised in all societies. Feudal lords, whether they be black or white, exercised violence against other men. Slaves, whether they were black or white, were victims of this violence. From the beginning of the development of humanity, the capitalists of whatever color exercised violence against the rest of humanity. Therefore, it is in the interest of the oppressed and exploited classes to organize themselves to fight against those who oppress and exploit them.

When we fight against negritude and all the other forms of idealistic concepts of life, we do this so that our people will be able



Trade Union Leaders at May Day Rally.

to clearly see the problem of their struggle. Besides, when we view negritude in the historical perspective we realize that at a certain period, whether it was in the United States or in Africa or South Africa, the black man had nothing but his skin to save him. It was normal that he would cling to his skin. From the tactical point of view, this is valid. But from the point of view of developing the class struggle in relation to the violence of the capitalists against the workers and the exploited people, this position, in the final analysis, becomes erroneous. Our present situation in the Peoples' Republic of the Congo has gone beyond the stage where we are compelled to reaffirm ourselves in terms of such values as skin, dress, custom or particular cultural values, and we have gone on to wage the class struggle.

We know by experience that there are classes in the Congo which oppress others. This is the national bureaucracy -- the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the tribal bureaucracy. In face of the duty of our people to liberate themselves from imperialism, these classes linked to imperialism perpetuate the exploitation of our people. Consequently, in the struggle that we are waging on the national level for our liberation from the clutches of foreign capital, we must at the same time wage a struggle against the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the tribal bureaucracy. We want to guarantee our national independence and, at the same time, liberate the Congolese workers from exploita-

tion, whether it is foreign exploitation or national exploitation. We realize that none of this can be accomplished unless our people are conscious and understand all these problems. Therefore, this is why we place such emphasis on the cultural level, the educational level, and ideological development.

I would also like to expand a little on the point of Peoples' Power.

We said earlier that violence was characteristic of the entire history of humanity. But what is even more characteristic of the development of humanity is that production is the foundation of society. All society can be classified in terms of its production. When we speak of Peoples' Power in the Congo we especially want to organize people in relation to production; that is to say, to society. Primarily, we want those who are producing the goods of the society to also dominate that society, because we do not want them only to produce but also to enjoy and receive the benefits of their work. Therefore, we think that if production is at the base of the society then the workers should be the masters of the society.

The organization of Peoples' Power is aimed at placing our society on a new level of the organization of production and to place it on such a level that the members of production, the workers themselves, should be the masters of society. In terms of organization of Peoples' Power it is the Party which is leading our people to this Peoples' Power. And the Party draws its strength from the organized masses. The organizations that we have are composed of the workers, the youth, and the women. These organizations are those we call mass organizations. It is in the heart of these organizations that the people exercise their political power. We have other organizations in the heart of the community, or in the heart of an enterprise, that coordinates the activities of all the forces, whether they are youth, workers, or women. These are the Revolutionary Committees.

As the Comrade First Secretary said earlier, a revolution, of course, must produce, but it must also be able to defend itself, especially during this period when capitalism still hopes to wrench something from our people. The Congolese Workers Party not only demands that all the people be armed, but demands that those who have guns first have a revolutionary class point of view. That is to say that a gun for us, is no more interesting than a glass, it is the utilization of the gun that is important. Who has the guns, why he has the gun, and who does he hold the gun against--- this is what is very important in Peoples' Power. In the same manner, the manager of a factory, the owner of a business or the director of a school.... the fact that they produce is a very good thing for the economy of our country, but it is not only the fact that they produce a product that interests us. Those who produce have a right to know why they are producing, why they must work, how they are producing; all the political reasons why our economy must advance, and how we can use it to transform our society. This is what we call, in short, politics at the command post.

**INTERVIEW WITH ANGE DIAWARA
POLITICAL COMMISSAR,
NATIONAL PEOPLES' ARMY
PEOPLES' REPUBLIC of the CONGO**

Eldridge Cleaver:

We would like to have some explanation on a theoretical level of what is the political commissar, and what is the Peoples' Army, and the role of the Peoples' Army in terms of waging national a liberation struggle in the context of a Marxist-Leninist revolution.

Ange Diawara:

A Political Commissar in our country is a man who is a member of the Party who is sent into the Army, to organize and orient the Army according to Party doctrines (principles), to make the Army a revolutionary tool of the people. In our country a political commissar is a member of the high command of the Army. His task is to make sure that the Army becomes an instrument totally integrated with the people and which strictly serves the peoples' interests. This is in opposition to the armies of the bourgeois countries, or the countries directed by the lackies of imperialism, where the army is held strictly in the service of the exploitative classes in power. We had that type of army in our country when colonialism was the order of the day and when neo-colonialism was the order of the day. But once the Revolution came, we felt it necessary to destroy that old army which had been a tool of the colonialists, a tool in the service of the lackies of neo-colonialism. We set out to build a tool of the people to serve the dispossessed classes of our society. Since the Revolution is made in the interest of the dispossessed classes, since the class struggle which takes place during the Revolution must lead the dispossessed classes to take power, to exercise their hegemony (leadership) over the society, the Army must therefore be a tool strictly in the service of the dispossessed classes. The Political Commissar sent by the Party into the high command is responsible for breaking down all the structures and attitudes that tend to bring about class behavior and class orientations contrary to the Revolution. After crushing these attitudes and behavior, he must aid in the creation of a new Army, instructed in the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism and strictly serving the Party in its task of political, military, and economic organization. This is a little bit of what a Political Commissar is responsible for doing.

As for the Peoples' Army itself, more exactly the definition of the Peoples' Army, I have almost given it in speaking about the Political Commissar, I have given it in brief. It would be necessary to give a few more details in order to make the definition clearer and more precise.

First of all, revolution is the class struggle between, on the one hand, imperialism and its allies inside our country, those whom we call the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the feudal elements, and on the other hand, the workers and the poor peasants and their allies coming from the other strata, like the revolutionary intellectuals and the students. At this stage, we have two camps engaged in battle; and the class struggle at this stage of our revolution, is taking place within these confines. Our Party has now to organize the workers and provide them with a revolutionary consciousness, to propagate revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory among them so the workers can make revolution their own affair. It is also necessary for the alliance between the workers and the peasants to be an operational reality. The Party, realizing all this, is therefore organizing the workers and peasants so the workers and peasants can make the revolution and achieve victory.

What is the place of the Army in this battle? The Army, organized by the Party, must serve as an operational tool in the hands of the workers and peasants. This means that the Army must also aid the Party, first by propagating revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory among the workers and peasants. Therefore, the Army must be a propaganda corps, capable of circulating the ideas of the revolution among the people; capable of adhering to them, and capable of making the people adhere to the ideas of the revolution. Propagandizing the ideas of the Revolution, the Army must also be capable of organizing the workers and peasants around revolutionary themes to attain the concrete objectives of the Revolution. Therefore, the Army must be capable of organizing the people from a political standpoint, aiding the organization of sections, the cells, the neighborhoods, all the organizations that are the means of struggle of the people. The Army, therefore, while propagandizing the ideas of the Revolution among the people, must also be capable of organizing the people politically.

Secondly, the Army must be a work corps. At present the army must learn to work with two goals in mind: the first reason to learn to work is to be able to help the party organize the people in their economic activities. That is to say that the soldiers, the fighters of the Revolution, must be capable of going into the countryside to organize and help the peasants in their agricultural tasks. They must go into the factories and be able to help the workers in their tasks. Therefore, the Army is learning how to work to assist in organizing the people in their work.

The second reason for the Army to learn how to work is this: the Army must learn to be self-sufficient in terms of its food and clothing. You know we inherited some bad things from the colonial system, according to which the Army had to be entirely supported by the taxes of the working people. In our country the Army as a body was a total parasite. The Army lived off the backs of the people, waiting for the people to pay taxes so it could eat, dress, be housed, and buy its military equipment. If the people are rich, this doesn't present a

problem. But when we are dealing with people, like in our country, a country dominated by imperialism, obviously one cannot say that the people are rich. The fact that the Army was living off the people, as a parasite, was a very serious thing. Our people, who already find it difficult to feed themselves through their work, must make further sacrifices to feed the fighters, to feed the comrades who are in the Army. It is certain that such an Army, if it accepts this destiny, if it continues to live off the backs of the people, such an Army cannot be linked with the people, and cannot claim to be a tool of the people. Therefore, when the Revolution came, it reached deep into the Army and exposed the problem of the parasitic role of the Army in respect to the people. We thought that it was high time for the Army to learn to work in order to become gradually self-sufficient, so that it would not be entirely dependent on the State for money, food, and clothing. It should work, either in agriculture or other areas, in order to gradually be able to feed itself and be clothed by its own labor. This Army will be able to lighten the burden and diminish the sacrifices of the people. This Army, therefore, will surely be much more tightly bound to the people because it will no longer be a parasite on the people. On the contrary, it will aid the people to liberate themselves by relieving them of a burden. We think that to make the Army self-sufficient is to seek to link the people and the Army more closely together.

Thirdly, the People's Army should not only be a propaganda corps for political work, for the work of political organization, nor must it be only a work corps, but, as we see it, the Army must fulfill its customary mission and be a combat corps, a battle corps. But in this task the Army must no longer rely solely upon itself. The Army must not think that in being a battle corps it therefore has a monopoly on war. We understand that there is an Army as a regular battle corps, but further, there is the fact that the Army must organize the people militarily. The Army must put arms at the disposal of the people. In a word, the Army must arm the people. What we call a People's Army is precisely this whole, formed on the one hand by the regular Army, and on the other by the armed people. Armed peoples are usually represented by elites, or other self-defense groups, but in our country the task of arming the people rests squarely with the Army, under the direction of the Congolese Worker's Party. Of course the Army must perfect its military techniques and constantly raise its technical level. But while it raises its technical level, improving itself from within it might be said, the Army must be able to place arms at the disposal of the workers, peasants, revolutionary students and intellectuals, the entire revolutionary camp, the techniques required for the struggle against the imperialists and their lackeys.

In your visit to our country, I think that you have probably seen something of the militia in training. The militia is being trained by fighters of our National People's Army, fighters who are in the process of carrying out their task of organizing the people in military activity. If we are the object of an imperialist aggression,



Painted Wall of Congo History. Slave Trade.

if we are attacked by counter-revolutionaries of any sort, we think that, in terms of the violence imposed upon us by the counter-revolutionaries, we will reply with revolutionary violence. But this violence will be organized within the strict framework of a People's War. That is to say, it will be a war which will concern not only the military, who are usually referred to as professionals, but it will be a war which will concern the entire population because this will be a war which concerns the Revolution. The Revolution is above all an affair of the people. Being an affair of the people, and war being a threat to the Revolution, it is normal for the people to fight. The regular army is then nothing more than a group of people who deal with it on a more permanent basis, who spend more time in the activity of war, but this does not give them any monopoly on military knowledge. This does not give them the title of a professional military. Our Army, while raising its technical level, aims at doing everything to organize the people militarily, to give arms to the people, to prepare the people to fight at any time that the Revolution is in danger.

That is, you might say, the third aspect which defines our Army: a battle corps, but a battle corps which arms the people, organizes them scientifically. It is the regular army plus the armed people in militias composed of workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and students, it is all this which forms the National People's Army.

Do you have any questions?

Cet:

What about the problems that you've encountered in attempting to initiate your program of politicizing the Army?

Ange Diawara:

In order for the Army to become a propaganda corps capable of spreading Marxist - Leninist ideology, capable of explaining to the masses, to the peasants, the problems of our country in general and the particular problems they face, in order for the fighters of our Army to come to the point of giving the masses a revolutionary interpretation of the problems they face, in order for these fighters to come to the point of making the masses understand the grounds for the revolutionary solutions proposed by the Party, it is necessary for the fighters to be well-trained from a political standpoint, and, above all, from an ideological standpoint.

Therefore it is necessary, practically speaking, that the Army itself be a strictly revolutionary tool, before the fighters of the Army go about making propaganda among the masses. The Revolution must penetrate the Army from top to bottom. The fighters of the Army must be among the best revolutionaries, because it is only the best revolutionaries who are capable of propagating the ideas of the Revolution in an effective manner.

The first task is therefore the political and ideological train-

ing of all Army people (cadre), but this political training, in which ideology must take precedence, has to take place in a revolutionary atmosphere. The ideas of the Revolution instruct the fighters in the class struggle. The ideas of the Revolution instruct the fighters in the struggle against exploitation of man by man, the struggle against harassment, the struggle against oppression. It is certain that the time spent in the Army cannot lead to revolutionary political work if the framework of the Army is not itself revolutionary. At the same time, as we provide political and ideological training for Army personnel, we transform the framework within which this work takes place so that we are dealing with it in such a way that an intense class-struggle is waged inside the Army. This is because, as I explained earlier, the historical facts of our Army show it to be one that was not trained, was not forged in combat like the Army of China, or like the Army of Cuba, or like the Army of Vietnam, or like the Army of Korea. The historical conditions of the Congo were such that our Army was not trained under such extreme conditions of violence as those in the countries I've mentioned. Our Army has been built up through some brief violent skirmishes, but one cannot call this war. This is violence, certainly, and we have had to utilize weapons, but each time this has been in short battles, and our present Army has been created under completely specific conditions. Thus our Army has recruited peasants and the sons of peasants, workers and the sons of workers, and lumpenproletariat (composed of peasants who left the country for the city and are unable to find work, plus similar dispossessed elements of the society). Their behavior is somewhat unstable, which requires that the revolutionary leaders engage in intense political work among them.

Therefore our Army had to fill its ranks with these people. As I have already explained, we had to merge our old Army, which was a product of the colonial era, led by a few radical officers, and the revolutionary youth, who are called the Youth of the National Revolutionary Movement, the J.M.N.A. (Jeunesse du Mouvement National de la Révolution). The Army merged, regrouping all these elements, but the ideological work involved posed numerous problems.

The problem of the framework within which this ideological work must take place is fundamental. You can't ask fighters to learn about the class struggle on the basis of theoretical notes if oppression by the counter-revolutionary class still exists inside the Army, nor if the possibility still exists, for example, for the bureaucratic bourgeoisie to exercise its hegemony within the Army. Therefore the ideological work must affect the political work so we can genuinely prepare the fighters to teach the people how to wage the class struggle, to teach the people how to seize power within the society, and how to exercise their hegemony within the society. The fighter must be capable of teaching the people to seize power in the society. Consequently, it is absolutely essential that the exploiting classes, or the ideology of the exploiting classes, disappears from within the Army.

The fighter must be a responsible political being who has already learned to wage the class struggle inside the Army. The fighter



must make the Army into a corps in which only a single ideology exists - that of the dispossessed classes. This is why inside the Army we have put politics in command - at the command post - so that the leading element of our Army will be first and foremost, political.

We want the soldier to be a militant first of all. Our job is to train people who will be militants before they are soldiers. They are men of a cause before being men of an Army, and in directing the Army they use their weapons strictly to serve their cause. The former attitudes and structures, according to which the officers and non-commissioned officers were all-powerful are to be totally cast aside. The officer and the non-commissioned officer must be simple technicians without any other importance. They must not exercise an overriding political influence on the fighter. And the fighter, having become a responsible political being, must participate by giving his point of view, by giving his ideas concerning Army life, concerning life in the unit in which he lives. Others can no longer decide for him. The fighter must participate in decision-making. This is the phenomenon we call democratization, and this is the stage we are at in our present work. Obviously if we want to make a propagandist of a fighter, a man capable of propagating revolutionary ideology, he must be trained both politically and ideologically. The structure in which he lives must be transformed so that there is interplay between the training of a fighter and the framework in which he lives. Therefore, the work done with the fighter contributes to waging revolutionary struggle, class struggle, within the Army. All this is done so that democratization can take place and the influence of the reactionary classes will disappear. The framework which the fighter transforms, on the basis of this training, will also transform and educate him.

There is interplay, or interdependence, between the ideological work and the political work carried out by the fighter, and the transformation of the setting in which the fighter lives. The political work to which the fighter is subjected helps him transform the setting in which he operates and, as it is transformed, this helps the fighter to progress. It educates the fighter. For this reason we insist on accompanying the ideological work by an intensive class struggle inside the Army.

The political work done on the fighter will be accelerated. Only in this way will the fighter quickly become a well-educated revolutionary, not only as far as the Party's work is concerned, but also in respect to the structures of revolutionary life in which he finds himself. This political, military, and economic democracy will exist inside the various units. All these elements will have an educational value, and will make a propagandist of him capable of carrying on the work of the Revolution among the masses.

As far as preparing the fighter for job responsibilities, our Army is not only composed of young workers and peasants but also includes members of the lumpen-proletariat, which complicates our tasks

to some extent since we have fighters who are not already versed in agricultural work or not already versed in certain factory tasks. We then have to provide these fighters with some training either in agricultural work or in forestry or other work which we know will help them first of all to help the people, to get into close contact with the people for these are the people's main fields of activity.

But we also know that in teaching the fighters how to work, we are helping them, as concerns agricultural work for example, to see to it that the Army attains its goal of becoming self-sufficient. It should be stressed, however, that with the members of the lumpen-proletariat we actually have to begin from scratch. There is not only the political work to be done, which is also required for those coming from peasant surroundings and those from the worker's world, but there is also training in work as such, which literally has to be taught to the members of the lumpen-proletariat.

The lumpen-proletariat have to be made into revolutionaries because as they come to us, as we take them, they want to break everything up without having any revolutionary consciousness. The task is all the more difficult because in our country many of the members of the lumpen-proletariat do not know how to read or write. They must get in-depth ideological training, so that they themselves in the future will be able to train the people ideologically and politically, to organize the people politically, militarily, and economically. To do this requires education, literacy, and tremendous politicization.

In concrete terms, democratization in this country is a stage, a means for politicizing the Army intensively and totally. Every military man is simply a soldier at this stage. To advance within the military requires the collective decision of the members of a unit. Therefore every soldier, officer, and non-commissioned officer, in order to get ahead, must be taken for a training program which is graded, and must pass this examination given by the political organizations in the units. All the fighters, even those at the bottom of the ladder, participate in these organizations and can criticize both their comrades and their superiors. For example, no higher-echelon personnel, no fighter, can advance in the military, can go on to a training program, if the organizations which are inside the units do not give their consent. Therefore, those who want these things pass a test given by the political organizations of the revolutionary fighters and by the Party organizations within the units.

Also, in those units in which a battalion command exists, the battalion commander has above him the chairman of the Party cell, or the Party chairman of the entire battalion. And on the company level, when there is a company commander there is a political director who is responsible for political orientation and does a political job in the company, and so on. We are developing this work down to the very lowest levels; every time there is a military leader, there is a political leader in charge of doing the political work and organizing the unit. They provide the orientation for the work of the military technicians and leaders who serve the country according to this goal.

Obviously the task of politicizing the Army carries with it a number of risks, the risk of anarchy, the risk of indiscipline; but don't think that the best way of getting rid of indiscipline and anarchy is straight-arm tactics, having people stand at attention all the time, without any explanations. We feel that the ideological work must be intensified so that people will become aware. We have to make into revolutionaries who will freely assent to a given level of discipline. It is high time to discipline the fighter because it is the only way of making the Revolution. But the fighter must not be disciplined to make him afraid. There you have the difference between the bourgeois concept of discipline, which is formal discipline comprised of standing at attention and saluting, and our concept of discipline which is freely consented to and is the basis of the revolutionary consciousness to be developed in the minds of the fighters. To reach this goal intensive ideological work is necessary. This is why we have seen to it that ideological work takes place every day. In the morning there is military activity, every area of military activity, and in the afternoon and evening there is political work. The political work is many-sided. It begins with the political education class which provides the fighters with the essentials necessary to understand Marxism-Leninism as it applies to the Congo and all the problems of the Congolese Revolution.

So on the one hand you have doctrine, the general theory of Marxism-Leninism which has to be taught, but on the other I should mention that we do not base the Training of our fighters on the speeches of the leaders. We teach them Marxism-Leninism so they will be in a position on their own to criticize the speeches of their leaders. We study all together the problems of the Revolution with respect to the economy, to agriculture, industry, trade, and how to destroy imperialism in the economic sphere.

We also go over the cultural and political problems. We discuss the cultural aspects of imperialism with them as seen in education. In fact, on the cultural plane, we were once taught to recite that our ancestors were Gauls (French). So we also teach them about imperialist domination in our culture. In this country the colonialists ran the schools with only certain textbooks, all of which illustrate the colonization of the mind. We lay before them all the facts about this mental colonization and we talk to them about the problems of education and the Revolution that has to be made in education.

At the same time, after completing Marxist-Leninist general theory, we launch into a vast denunciation of the bourgeois elements of our society. We point out all the evils in our society in order to prepare the fighter to reject them and crush them so as to completely transform the society.

The general theory provides us with a tool for analysis. We study our society bit by bit. We pinpoint the imperialist domination and we teach the tactics and strategy necessary to fight against it. We particularly stress the vestiges of counter-revolutionary ideologies within the Army. We denounce the outmoded structures, the counter-

revolutionary structures within the Army so as to prepare the fighters to break down these structures. To accomplish this we prepare him to wage the struggle within the Army itself.

Obviously we also denounce our own numerous defects: We are the accomplices of the pitfalls in which we find ourselves - for example liberalism and tribalism. We teach the fighters a revolutionary world using revolutionary criticism. We give them history so that they become patriotic-minded. We teach not only the history of the Congo but also African history and the history of revolutionary struggles elsewhere in the world, so as to make them not only patriotic-minded, but internationalist-minded, as well. We also have them study the geography of the Congo and all of Africa. Lastly, we teach them about political agitation, the technical problems involved, and about propaganda. We teach them how to organize a meeting, how to organize a rally, how to infiltrate a neighborhood. For example, in a neighborhood where the people are hostile to the Party, hostile to the ideas, we show how, little by little, you have to infiltrate the different groups in order to win the people over to our ideas. In propaganda work, there is also instruction in how to do a radio or television program, how to organize a large-scale voluntary work operation, and how to organize an ideological campaign.

We have had success with the members of the lumpen-proletariat. We have observed that when you intensify the work you get results. We have already transformed a good number of comrades from the lumpen-proletariat, comrades who are now doing relevant political work.

It's a job which requires patience. The instructors must have great determination. They must be people whose vocation is revolution and who feel that they have to devote all their time to the transformation of mankind.

The lumpen do not come to the Revolution politically aware. They come to the Revolution because it is in their interest. They come to eat and be clothed, they come looking for work. It's up to the Congolese Workers' Party to devise methods to give them what they need. You have to create conscious ties between them and the Revolution. For example, here in our country - the conditions here are perhaps not the same as in your country - when a comrade from the lumpen has gotten to be a soldier that means he has what he needs to eat and be dressed and housed. That's already something he has asked for, that he has asked the Revolution for. From that time on he knows that he owes his situation to the Revolution and we then have in that person an attentive ear. In actual fact as soon as he has food and clothing, he is more attentive to what revolutionaries can tell him and then he can be deeply transformed.

It is therefore necessary that the objectives put forth to the lumpen-proletariat be concrete. The member of the lumpen-proletariat who comes to the Revolution expects that after the battle he will get

such and such a thing. And after the battle you have indeed to gain his confidence to get on with the job of transforming his consciousness. Therefore, when you propose revolutionary objectives to them they will agree to them, but you have to attain those objectives, and for that they are ready to die communists. They will die in battle, but you must attain the objectives so that they can get their due.

The means of struggle must be to the advantage of the lumpen. When the counter-revolutionaries take away their means of struggle, they avoid the counter-revolutionaries. But when the revolutionaries take away their means of struggle, they kill the revolutionaries. These are very terrible things, but without being idealistic or dogmatic you have to realize that the lumpen-proletariat are unstable, and go with those who provide the livelihood.

If you manage to convince the lumpen-proletariat that in waging the battles of the Revolution, they will procure a livelihood, the lumpen will wage them, even running the risk of being too impatient.

We have had some new experience here in organizing the lumpen-proletariat during popular demonstrations. It has happened at different times in our revolutionary activity, when we were at our beginnings, that we were bothered by certain media - catholic, etc. - that were circulating anti-communist ideas. At that time we were beginning to organize the lumpen-proletariat. We would say to them: "Comrades, if you want to find a livelihood, the means to live, so that your life will be what you want it to be, you will have to wage class struggle, you will have to wage all the battles of the Revolution. At the end of those battles only, will you find the means to live. Well, at the time, when we had difficulties with the Catholic press, you only had to pass the word to the lumpen-proletariat and the next morning the offices of the catholic press were looted. The things we could not do legally, the word went out to the lumpen-proletariat and it was done.

There are many other examples of the efficiency and the impatience of the Lumpen-proletariat, which always require being structured and oriented, and which must always be guided by revolutionary theory. The lumpen-proletariat then provides you with a very courageous and irreplaceable margin for maneuver. In our country the lumpen-proletariat has been able to do a lot of things that we could not have done with decrees. They succeeded, for example, in dispossessing certain counter-revolutionaries at a time when we found it difficult to proceed with that dispossession. In using members of the Lumpen it was possible.

Obviously, in this work, the literacy aspect should not be neglected. To give the comrades real ideological knowledge, to give them knowledge in propaganda techniques and knowledge in political organization techniques, the comrades must know how to read and write. Even for those who know how to read and write, we do everything possible to improve their intellectual level so that they will under-

stand higher and higher levels of Marxism. This is in order for them to understand the highest levels of economics, and the highest levels in other fields concerning the organization of our society.

We have just taken an overall view of the aspects of training, the aspects of the study of political training of the fighter. Essentially, we provide theoretical elements like in a classroom. There are explanations and courses given in a theoretical fashion. But our orders are, within our units, to see to it that the work of political training is very much alive and especially that it takes place in a concrete framework by using methods which place the fighter in more and more real settings. We organize outings so that the fighter can go into the countryside and spend some time. We give them political tasks to accomplish. They put into practice what they studied at the camp - they must organize rallies, explain certain points to the peasants, the workers, etc.

Inside the camp they learn through what we call "simulated practice". For example, you tell a comrade: okay, in such and such region there is a problem of marketing coffee to be dealt with. For such and such reasons the peasants' coffee is not being dealt with. For such and such reasons the peasants' coffee is not being marketed. The peasants are discontented and are looking for a solution to market their coffee crop. You are a Party member, a revolutionary among the peasants. Tell us what explanations you are going to give the peasants. Tell us how you are going to resolve this problem with the peasants. Now the audience is composed of fighter comrades and he gives his explanations to the fighter comrades. The fighter comrades ask questions as though they were the peasants. He then becomes familiar with and gains experience in public speaking. It also makes him familiar with and gives him practice in solving a problem. But he is also obliged to know what the market problems of his country are. And he also has to envisage the transport problems. We thereby force him to get to know the reality of his country, the most basic economic problems our country has to face.

Here is an example of what we call the "living method". We do "simulated practice" inside the camp and just plain practice among the people. When the men are fairly well trained - and don't forget that quite a good number of fighters go out among the masses to provide military training for the militia - then it is training in practice because they are stimulated by their contacts with the masses.

They also learn how to make a political analysis of a situation because we analyze things as they happen every day. We have what we call "political time", which means the time we take out to analyze the political situation in our country and in the world, the situation in relation to the Revolution.

Alongside that there are other activities which create a certain atmosphere. We use them to teach the fighters to understand certain

ideas, for after having worked with the minds of the fighters, you have to win their hearts. So we have the cultural methods like those you saw in the airborne group. We use music, films, poems, etc. For example, when we raise a question of class struggle, of democratization, or any question which we may have to face in the interest of the Revolution, then we mobilize all the artists. In the Army we have orchestras, vocal groups, theater groups which develop all the themes on the agenda - current events themes or any other which the fighters decide are the watchword.

These cultural activities further educate the fighter concerning themes which have already been developed in a normal classical way. For example, before Comrade Cleaver came to the airborne group, some comrades made oral reports on the struggle of the Black Liberation Movement in the United States. So that before you went there some comrades made refresher talks, since in the context of teaching the fighters about the revolutionary struggles taking place in the world, they already had historical references on the Black Liberation Movement. And now, since Comrade Cleaver has come here, certain members have made some more detailed reports on the struggle waged by the Black Liberation Army.

After that, the vocal and poetry groups made their contributions by adding something to the work done. First the comrade who made the oral reports touched the minds of the fighters, then the music, the theater skits, and the poems contributed to touching the hearts. So when Comrade Cleaver arrived at the camp the work affecting the mind had already been done and the cultural activities were developed in front of him. These cultural activities contribute to deepening the understanding of the fighters, to finishing the work done previously.

Also, when the people get under the sway of liberalism for a time, we say we are going to launch a "red fortnight". During this time we wage a struggle against liberalism, against negligence and laziness, etc. Everyone works until midnight. We give them oral reports to do. They do political work, go on marches at impossible hours, etc.

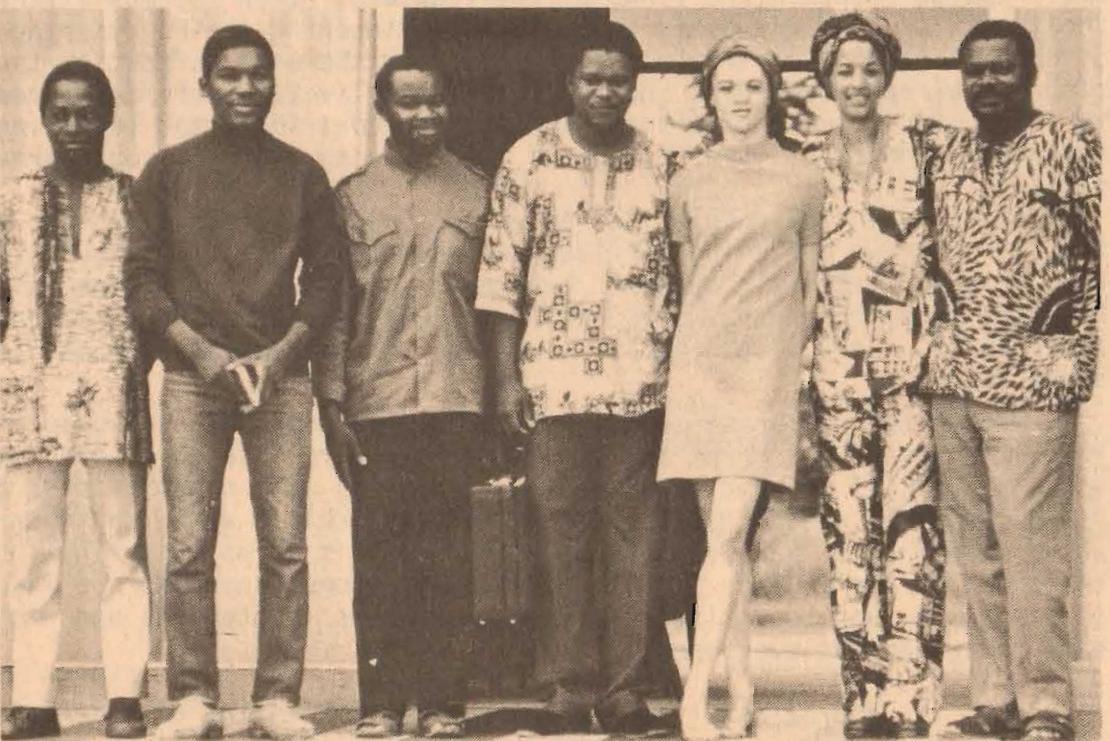
Within the different corps, political work does not go ahead at the same speed. Some corps are ahead of the others, in which case we use what we call "prototype methods". This means that often we push a given corps far ahead ideologically and politically with transformation experiments. We give this big push and this corps then takes on the scope of a prototype and all the comrades come around to see what is happening and to verify it. Then it becomes contagious and the same thing happens everywhere.

This is approximately what we are doing. Does the comrade have any other questions?

I do not think that it warrants any thanks. I see things in this way: everyone has a common duty. You and us, our duty is to make the Revolution. From this angle, you, as a revolutionary, and I, as a



Young Pioneers (School Children) Banga



Kathleen and Denise leaving Congo with First Secretary Ndalla, Okabanda, and other comrades.

revolutionary, I can say that you are closer to me than any other American citizen because the closeness of men is to be judged according to the cause for which they are fighting, even if they are separated by thousands of miles. As long as you are making Revolution and as long as I am too, we are closer to each other than any American or Congolese citizen who is not in the struggle.

From that moment on we have duties which are not those of just anybody, and we have a way of seeing things and of living which is not the way of just anybody. You need to make the Revolution in particular conditions which means that it is your duty to be as well informed as possible concerning anything that can serve your actions. I must make the Revolution, and my duty is not limited to making Revolution here in the Congo, just as your duty is not limited to making Revolution in the United States. And you know very well that if there is a Revolution in the United States it will aid other people, like ours, who are struggling for their freedom.

The Revolution then, even if it takes place in the United States it transcends the borders of the USA. If a Revolution breaks out in the heart of imperialism, that will weaken the imperialists in other countries on the periphery, countries like ours.

The Revolution that you can make is not a Revolution which will stop in the United States. It interests us directly. That is why the Revolution that the other comrades and myself are making concerns not only the Congo, but all the revolutionary countries. Therefore it is our duty when we are with revolutionary comrades who are struggling in other lands to speak of our experiences, not in pontificating, in playing the professors - we are not academic lights. But our duty is to speak of our experience so that others can draw upon the lessons of that experience. Not to copy it, for we do not feel that this is good practise, but to take lessons from it so that in the lands in which they are fighting, the Revolution can take place. That is how we see it.

I can illustrate the point: we have a truck to push. You are on one side and I am on the other to push the truck uphill. Well, I push and you push, and at a time like that you do not have to say thank-you because we are pushing the same truck, we have the same duties. What you are doing is being done for the Revolution. You request information and I am within my rights to provide that information since we are pushing the same truck and have the same enemy. We don't have to thank each other. On the contrary, I should ask you whether that information is sufficient and you should ask me whether I have said everything I have to say, if all the experience I have in my mind has been communicated so that each of us has the strength to push the truck, because if not the truck won't budge.

As for military training, there aren't any more Frenchmen. At the most there are three French doctors, for as soon as we closed the military bases the French left. But we do have some Chinese, some Koreans, and some Russians who come, so there are quite a few comrades from the socialist countries and no Frenchmen whatsoever.



Eldridge leaving Congo with Voodoo equipment.



